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Table of Clans

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, and clan by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kipsaket *	Kipsaket Bird	Nandi clan	ancient name
Mai *	Mai	Nandi clan	ancient name; Dorobo ancestor had two
Kipsiker *	Kipsiker	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipsomet *	Kipsomet	Nandi clan	duiker
Kipsiz *	Kipsiker	Nandi clan	bush pig
Tuiyot *	Tuiyot	Nandi clan	rats
Kimnyo *	Tuiyo	Nandi clan	hyrax
Tuiy *	Tuiy	Nandi clan	lion

The clans omitted here are: "Kipsongol," corresponding to the Nandi Kamoiboi, name particular Kipsiker," corresponding to the Nandi Kipsiker, totem the sun; and Kimpo, apparently Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of Nandi origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. The council consists of all the old men of the clan. Legal cases are heard by a chairman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a pot of honey-wine as it is over a social gathering, which it is more or less. Disputes is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between members, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, Kiruokindet, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires the position to which the name may go down the Nandi pattern (p. 58).

The Ward

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (koromek, sing. koret) governed, due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council made up largely of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it, the council who order a time (there are no special council trees) in an open space has which the Nandi has been shaved. The function of the koret council is to hear inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as Kiruokindet, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he succeeds his office in the same way. There was no chief of the Dorobo.

The koret is divided into nine kerosiek, named (from north to south): Cheptuiy, Kolgei, Kony, Kipkoren, Tuiyoo, Kimnyo, Kolongo, Pure, and Tuiyot. In 1938 only nine of these were occupied: Kolgei, Kipkoren, and Tuiyoo (which had by this time encroached into Nandi).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, bush-

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normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the last to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Mukiosyo gaqua ne kwisa a kajisa kakwai*; *mukiosyo kakony gaqua*; *mukiomuni kachai ak aiya mukik ar ewosi, amma ga, ngai mukik ap kamwisi*; *kiwomwechini kakwai*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i.e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'shun fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever saw his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps to the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a male or unchivalrous child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Awos ekidet* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iwo gwi* (get out), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Semi-deaf, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped to and fro, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Komoiso and his wife, to whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

6:Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Kavirondo tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a morning they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep, but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, conversation, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerandi* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average is little more than 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'Okiek Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo.[1] The Dorobo who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in *JRAI* 69 (1939) p. 69.